2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

713 similar to that of the Yakut. A bow is illustrated in Fig. 59 and a hand and arm protector in Fig. 60.

701 411 Yakut warriors (*sāpi, sāpi kisita*) were usually mounted horsemen (*minjār*), but there were also foot soldiers (*satȳkisita*). Their weapons (*sāp*) consisted of a light bent bow (*sā*), a quiver (*kāsāx, sādax*), and arrows (*aya*)[1].

326 614 757 789 562 *Social Position of the Yakut Blacksmith.* The Yakut blacksmith (*ūs, timir ūsa, timirjit*) has the same rank as a shaman (see p. 107). According to one tradition the forefather of the Yakut, Elliei, was the first blacksmith. Another traditional blacksmith, named Chyky, was the teacher of warriors. He forged weapons for them and gave advice. Smithing and iron mining are inherited in certain clans. Some clans are composed of miners and iron founders, while others are smiths. The Yakut believe that blacksmiths are able to cure sick people by natural means and not through the assistance of spirits, as do shamans. They are regarded as clever, intelligent, and experienced. A blacksmith of the ninth generation is believed to possess some supernatural power. Such an individual has no fear of evil spirits and can forge the iron pendants for a shaman's garb without danger to himself. Spirits are generally afraid of the rattling of iron and the noise produced by the smith's bellows. It is of interest to note that there are no women blacksmiths, while, on the contrary, women shamans, called *udahan*, are believed to be more powerful than men shamans.

326 [554] Among all Siberian natives the blacksmith ranks high. His vocation is not regarded as a trade which may be learned by any one but as a divine gift. He is protected by special spirits. Among many African tribes the blacksmith is represented among the officers of the court. In Shugnan and other places in Pamir, the blacksmith's art is regarded as a gift from the prophet David. He is more revered than the *mulla* (literate man who is able to read the Koran). His assistants as well as any onlookers must show respect to the master and his implements. The blacksmith must be clean spiritually and physically; he must avoid evil thoughts and deeds and must wash before beginning to work. [778] The smithy is venerated as a place of worship and when there is no special building for prayers and social gatherings, the smithy takes its place. During communal feasts the anvil is treated with sour milk.[2]

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[1] Arrows had names differing in accordance with their shape and material: thus, *kustuk*, a single pointed iron or bone arrow; *cyra*, a bifurcated arrow; *onohos*, a spear-like bone arrow; *maliar onohor*, an arrow with a rounded head of bone or wood, used for squirrel hunting that the skin may not be defaced.

[2] Sarubin, J., Légende du Sugnan sur le premier Forgeron (*Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences de l'USSR*, Series 6, Vol. 20, Part 2, pp. 1165–1170, Leningrad, 1926, in Russian).

53:Tokarev and Gurvich E-4 (no date) 1964
RV2 Yakut RV2

developed class relationships and certain very archaic survivals of ancient times. By the time the Russians arrived in the first half of the 17th century, the Yakuts had divided up into independent tribes. The largest and strongest of these were the Kangalastsy and Namy on the left bank of the Lena, and the Megins, Borogons, Betuns and Baturustsy between the Lena and the Amga; these very large tribes (to judge by the Russian tribute registers) numbered from 2000 to 5000 persons each. The smaller tribal groupings, some of which were independent and some of which belonged to those mentioned above, were reckoned in dozens. In the Russian sources these tribes are called "volosts," but the Yakut name for them was evidently d'on or aymakh. These tribes often warred with one another, and sometimes banded together temporarily for joint operations. All members of one tribe were considered fellow clansmen, which, among other things, was indicated by the fact that the "volosts" were exogamic groups. In turn, the tribes divided into smaller clan groups. The bond between fellow clansmen showed up in the custom of mutual assistance and vendetta, which, incidentally, was often replaced by blood money.

At this period, however, the clan-tribal structure was already in a state of decomposition. The tribes and clans were headed by the military aristocracy—the toyons. These possessed large herds of cattle and employed the labor of slaves and dependent fellow clansmen on their farms; they were also the military leaders. Heading detachments of armed servants and junior fellow clansmen, the toyons raided each other's territory, and frequently looted the farms of the free members of the community, seizing their cattle and destroying their economic independence. These toyon wars and raids were one of the factors which speeded up the decomposition of the clan commune. The ruined members of the commune were reduced to the status of "balyksyts" (poor people without cattle, or fishermen), or else became the indentured slaves of the toyons. Most of the slaves (kuluts or bokans) originated in this way.

The system of slavery among the Yakuts was fairly peculiar in form, containing certain patriarchal elements. The number of slaves was small; even the richer toyons had no more than 15 or 20, and much more frequently there were one to three slaves for each master. The slave usually had his own family and often lived in a separate yurt. Slavery was hereditary. Some of the slaves—the adult males—were part of the armed band of the toyon. On the other hand, cases were known in which the slaves led a hard life and their masters treated them cruelly, and we also know of the manifestation, although embryonic, of class feeling against exploitation (flight by groups of slaves and so on).

The problem of whether or not there was feudalism among the Yakuts before the Russians arrived still remains unsolved in Soviet historical-ethnographic literature.

Some writers (S. V. Bakhrushin and O. V. Ionova) think that early feudal relations among the Yakuts began to form in the pre-Russian period; they consider the presence of groups of semidependent people "living close to" the toyons, as well as the custom of lending cattle for grazing (the later khahaas), to be signs of this. Tokarev considers that a feudal-type relationship only began to form among the Yakuts after they had been annexed to Russia.

As regards land ownership, the older communal-clan system was still in force just before the Russians arrived. The communal form of land use not only predominated in forest hunting grounds and pastures, but the fisheries and even the meadows were still by and large in common use. Nevertheless, the meadows and fisheries had already been taken over to